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TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

LETTER XVII.

*Emigration from England.—Base idea
of the Leeches.*

Bolton, 22d June, 1816.

The subject of *Emigration* is becoming, every day, more and more important. There is now really an *alarm* felt on this account. It is not the *miserable* only that are in motion. I hear of most respectable and most valuable men, who are *selling off* in order to go to America. Indeed, I *know* the fact. But, lest your Cossacks should think, that I exaggerate, I will quote our London papers upon this subject; and, when I have so done, I will add some particulars, which have come within my own knowledge:— “Sometime ago,” says the *Morning Chronicle*, “it was a favourite sentiment among the race of Contractors at the Pitt Club, ‘*May they who do not like the country leave it.*’ This was applauded as a most patriotic toast. It appears that the success of the Pitt principles has brought the country to that unfortunate condition, that even those who love it are forced to quit it. Never, in the memory of man, was there any thing known like the emigration now taking place. The door of the French Minister, nay, the street in which he lives, is crowded with persons applying for passports. Thou-

“sands have been issued—and those not to needy persons, but to families of large fortunes—to landed proprietors—to fund-holders—to manufacturers and artizans of eminence—and to men at the head of establishments, who are seriously contemplating the removal of their arts and their machines, to places less burthened by taxation. The extent of this evil will speedily be felt, in diminished consumption—in the number of persons thrown out of employ—and in the deficit of the Revenue. The river Thames presents a most dreary aspect. There are not fifty foreign sail to be seen in it; and the London Docks, which used to require fifteen hundred hands, do not now employ five hundred. With an acknowledged deficiency of 17,000,000*l.* per annum, we hear of these emigrations that will not cost the nation less than ten or twelve millions per annum; and the sum spent by Englishmen abroad will act as a subsidy to our neighbours, and will be felt as such in the balance of trade, thereby raising the exchange against us. It is little consolation to us to know that the persons thus emigrating from motives of economy, will be deceived—that they will find the expences greater than they think of—and that they might practise retrenchment much more certainly at home. All this affords but little consolation to the tradesmen, who will lose their custom—to the housekeepers who will be burthened with increased poor-rates, to support the unfortunate dependents who will be deprived of bread—and to the Government that will suffer a lamentable falling off in the taxes. And surely

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" it is a circumstance to which Parliament
 " ought; before they separate, to turn
 " their most serious attention. We are
 " on the brink of a precipice; and no-
 " thing but a strong and decisive measure
 " of national retrenchment, will save us
 " from a calamity which it is frightful to
 " contemplate. This is no time for the
 " filling up of useless places with the sons
 " of Dukes, who, either as principals or
 " as collaterals, have been the dupes of
 " gamblers and of money lenders. There
 " must be an end not merely of corrup-
 " tion but of extravagance. And as we
 " find from daily experience, that the
 " Volunteer Yeomanry, at 4*l.* per head
 " per annum, are as effectual in keeping
 " the peace of the country as the Dragoon
 " Guards, at 150*l.* per head per annum,
 " we must reduce our army, unless it is
 " actually thought that a national bank-
 " ruptcy would not be a national evil."

This writer, you will observe, wishes to save himself with his shop-keeping readers by observing, that emigrants to the Continent will be disappointed. He knows better. He knows that they will avoid paying their share of our enormous taxes, which take away more, perhaps, than three-fourths of every man's income, who has no profitable trade or calling to carry on. The persons, who migrate thus, know very well what they are at; and, unless some rigorous measure of prevention be adopted, their numbers will continue to increase.

But, the serious part of the business is, the emigrations from England to America! This is what will strike a forked sting into the heart of the System. It is very true, as the Morning Chronicle now observes, and as I observed in my Fifth letter to you, dated on the 23d March; it is very true that the Pitt Gang have, for years past, given as a toast, the expression of their wish, that those who did not like the country should leave it. These insolent men, who, by country,

meant corruption and taxation, have lived to see their pretended wish fulfilled. The attempt to strangle the power of America in the cradle has had a wonderful effect in exalting her character. It has given rise to discussions about that country, and out of discussions come knowledge. It has been in vain, that the hired part of the press has laboured to give a check to this emigration. People have seen, that the facts which I have stated cannot be contradicted. The whole nation knows, that a day-labouring man, in America, can, if he will, earn the price of half a bushel of flour in a day; and, there are now very few persons, who do not know, that it is taxes, which make paupers. To men, who have worked hard all their lives, and have just obtained what they deemed sufficient to set their children forward in the world, the change of the times has given a serious shock. They see clearly, that the burdens of taxation never can be lightened, unless the funding system be blown up, and, of the consequences of that they are afraid. To lose their all through the taxes or through popular tumult seems to such persons the sole alternative, if they remain in England; and, therefore, they turn their thoughts towards America, the Continent of Europe being suited to none but lazy slaves.

A few days ago, four men, the eldest of whom was not, he said, twenty-one, came to me to offer their services to go to America. They came out of a village at about five miles distance, called North-Stoneham, and said, they had been told, that I wanted labourers to go to America, upon condition of having three years' service as the repayment of passage money out. These terms they were anxious to agree to, and they appeared to be exceedingly mortified, when they learnt, that I was no "American Planter," as they had imagined; that I had the honour to have been born almost under the shade

of the same trees with themselves ; and that I did not want any body to go out to America. Thousands upon thousands of this description of persons seek occasions to get across the Atlantic. I wonder for my part how the *enticement* has spread in the manner that it has ! How the knowledge of the milk and honey has got into obscure villages. The Register is not, to be sure, less *read* than it was before Sir Vicary Gibbs made his grand assault upon it ; but, very few villages know any thing of the Register. Yet, the glad tidings have not been circulated through any other printing channel.

Be the channel of information what it may, it is certain, that there never was any thing more talked of and thought of than emigration to America now is. The dismal part of the story, however, is, that many hundreds of families of property, of great respectability, distinguished for their industry and knowledge of business as *farmers*, are selling off and preparing to depart. The *hive* is all in commotion. The *Bees* seem resolved no longer to support the *Drones* and the *Wasps*. The former, unable to resist the demands and the stings of the latter, appear determined to quit the *hive*, to seek new scenes for their industry and a safe place of deposit for their honey ; and those, who have insolently bid the discontented leave the country, stand a pretty fair chance of *working for themselves*, or being starved. However, we shall have all the Knights and the Parsons and Vicars and Curates, and all the Gentlemen in Red and in Blue with swords and helmets, and all the Place-men, Pensioners, Contractors, and Taxgatherers and Paupers. We shall have all these left behind ; and a very respectable population will they form. The worst of it is, that there will be so few of us left to work for them, they will be compelled, I am afraid, to labour

themselves. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The reader will hardly believe me ; but, since the last paragraph was written, a young man, whom I never heard talk about going to America, has called upon me, and actually taken his leave of me on his departure for that country. I asked him what had decided him all at once. He answered, that he was resolved to spend no more of his life in working for the Roses, the Huskissons, the Cannings, the Longs and the *double Lady Louisas* ; that the Giffords and Greens and D' Ivernois and Mallet-du-Pans should no longer sit astride upon his shoulders. I told him, that it was not very polite to name a lady upon such an occasion ; and, that, as to Gifford, the Quarterly Reviewer, I had him astride upon *my* shoulders. He found out others ; said he should have no such people to support in America ; and according, not half an hour ago, I shook hands with him, and wished him a good voyage !

Many men have recently returned from America to fetch their relations. A labouring man came to Portsmouth, a few days ago, from the United States, for the purpose, not of taking out his wife and children (for they went with him), but his *father and mother* ! This man has come and found Portsmouth and Gosport in the depth of misery. There is not employment for a fourth part of the labourers. In such a state of things men will want only the means of getting to America to induce them to quit England. The man here mentioned was not of the description of, those, who, as the Morning Chronicle stated, the other day, went off and basely left their wives and children to be maintained by the parish. This man had got his wife and children with him ; but, he could not enjoy the good fortune he had met with, until his father and

mother were there to enjoy it too. Indeed, I do not *believe* the story of the Morning Chronicle in the way it is intended to be believed. Some men may, and, I dare say, do leave their families behind in distress. How is a *labourer* to avoid this? His family is *always* in distress. He *never has any money*. How is he to pay for his *own passage*, much less for that of four or five persons? He must, therefore, either remain and be eaten up by the leprosy or some other disorder engendered by poor living; he must remain and see a swarm of ragged and filthy creatures rise up about him; or, he must set off and earn some money to pay for a passage for his wife and children. And, what does he do more than the *Soldier* is encouraged to do, and really receives a *bounty* out of the taxes for doing? The soldier is set free from all his engagements with master, parish, children, and even wife (as far as cohabiting and maintenance go); and, if it be said, without a laugh, that the hero is inspired with a zeal for his country, I have only to answer, that he, in that case, would need no *bounty money* to induce him to enter the service.

In short, every man has a right to endeavour to mend his lot, and especially in a case where the people have been so insultingly told to leave the country, if they did not *like it*; that is to say, if they did not like to work to earn money for the Roses and Cannings and the double Lady Louisas. Verily this insolence seems to be upon the eve of receiving its appropriate reward. It is not the loss of a *man* that England experiences in the emigration of an Englishman to America: it is the loss of a *picked man*, a man of health, strength, sound constitution, able to work in his vocation, full of confidence in himself, and also with some enterprise and personal courage. This man is worth, on an average, four of

those that he leaves behind him. And that is not all; the loss of *four men* is not all; it is the loss of *eight* in point of relative force, seeing that the four are transferred to America, whom the friends of the System of Corruption regard and describe as their "*natural enemy*," and of whom they are every day endeavouring, but in vain, to make us *afraid*. Faith! they will never again make us believe, that the power of America is dangerous to US! It is surprising how much the eyes of the people have been opened upon that subject within these six or seven months. Those eyes are now directed across the Atlantic, seeing that there is the last hope of the oppressed and the miserable.

Having mentioned the *double Lady Louisas*, I will tell the story of one of them. * * * * *

Yes, my *old English friends* in America, you who used to join with me in saying, that all who were discontented here, were rebels, you must now with me, upon experience, change your tone, and allow, that a man may love his country very well indeed, without liking to work to earn money to pay the amount of the sinecures of William Gifford and that of Lady Louisa's pensions. At any rate, my good friends, you can blame nobody for leaving these things to be paid by others, seeing that you yourselves have so left them. If, indeed, you are willing to contribute towards the support of the gentry, who eat taxes in England, and will actually send over your share of the expence according to your several capacities; if you are willing to send us over about *fifteen shillings in the pound on your rents for your share of poor-rates*; if you, when you rent a house for a hundred dollars, will send us over *seventy-five dollars* towards keeping our poor; if you will only do this to begin

with; if you will only share with us in this one head of taxation, we will then allow you to find fault with us for being *discontented*. But, while you take care to keep on the right side of the water, and will contribute nothing towards our burdens, and yet reproach *us* with a want of love of country, because we complain of those burdens, we shall, to speak in the mildest terms, think your conduct very inconsistent and very unjust.

At any rate, *you* will, I am sure, be ashamed to pretend to censure your countrymen for seeking to better their *lot in America*, seeing that you yourselves did the same, and that, too, at a time, when England was a paradise, compared to what it is now. The sinews of the country are really passing away from it. It is impossible to prevent this. There is great talk of *laws* to put a stop to it. But *laws* will come too late. Men will go as long as the *sea is open*. To keep them here, in the present and approaching state of the country, there must be a wall built all round the coast, as high as the tops of the loftiest oaks. To put a stop to emigration, the way is to *reduce the taxes*, so that those who labour will have enough left to enable them to live comfortably. Nothing but this will do. Nothing but this can do; and, in one way or another, this must and will be done at no very distant day. This country, can never, I hope, dwindle down into a state of *insignificance*.

The hired part of the press is making great efforts to put a stop to emigration. Of these efforts the following, in the COURIER, of the other day, is a specimen:

"Every thing is very dull in America. So great is the stagnation of trade that but very few of the merchant vessels are employed. Our countrymen who have emigrated, are in a most deplorable state: upwards of 1000 of them

"have applied to the British Consul at New York to be sent home with passage ports as distressed British subjects." No authority for this assertion is named; and, therefore, I set it down as false. I mean as far as relates to the *emigrants*, for as to the *stagnation of commerce*, that I was prepared to hear of, and prepared my readers to hear of, in January last, upon authority of a letter received from a very intelligent gentleman in Philadelphia. The country is glutted with *English goods*, a great part of which must sell for less than the manufacturer's price. The ruin of many importers must follow. Hence a stagnation of trade. Besides, the *mercantile* people in America will of necessity feel the effect of the shock here. Want of money *here* produces, in some degree, want of money *there*, because a great part of the importers of goods there depend upon *long credit* in England. Besides, generally speaking, the *ruin* in this country and in France, though it must ultimately benefit America, lessens her commerce for the present, as the sinking of either of these countries in the sea would lessen that commerce in a greater degree. But, here is the difference between our situation and that of America: we have an *everlasting debt to pay* the interest of: she has a debt to be sure; but, the *whole of principal* of that debt is not nearly equal to *one year's interest of ours!*

The paper-money in that country has received a *blow*. That is another cause, and, I suspect, the greatest of all the causes, of a *stagnation of commerce*. But, as taxation is so very light, this cause will soon be got over, having left a salutary lesson behind it. It may possibly be true, that many emigrants are in "a most deplorable state;" for all manner of wretched people have crowded to America. *Clerks, Slight-of-hand Gentlemen*, of various denominations. People in

search of eating without working. These I have always cautioned against going to America. Factors, speculators of all sorts. These may be in "a most deplorable state;" and I am very glad of it. They will now be compelled to work. But, I will pledge my life, that no handi-craft man, manufacturer, working tradesman of any sort, or labourer, ever applied to any body to send him to England, during the last ten years.

Far be it from me, however, to contemplate *with pleasure* this abandonment of England by her natural born sons. On the contrary, I view it with great pain and shame and mortification; and, again I say, that England will again be fit for a free and industrious man to live in. In the meanwhile, I hope, that those who remain will lose no opportunity of expressing their indignation against those, who have made this unhappy country what it at present is. Above all things I hope, that the people will never be so base as to affect despair as an apology for yielding up their country without a struggle.

The dismal situation of the country, the weight of taxes, the decline of trade and agriculture, the amount of the debt, the immense army, the myriads of paupers, the complete despair of any alteration for the better, the impossibility of longer disguising or palliating the truth, as to these matters; all these have reduced the friends of the system to great difficulty. They will not, however, allow, that this sad state is to be ascribed to the war and the system of taxation. They cannot deny the existence of the calamity; but, they deny that the calamity has arisen out of *the system*, of which system *you* have had a pretty full description.

Pressed however, to say, whence the calamity has arisen, they say, that nations, like individuals, have their *rise* and their *decline*; that the Roman Empire rose to

an astonishing height, and, at last crumbled to nothing; that England is not exempted from this *common lot*; that her *turn* seems approaching, and that that of America will come by and by. This is the language of the cool, sleek, tame cheaters, who only care about dying fat in a feather bed. The *hungry* friends of the system, those who are upon the lookout for prey, or who have *begun* to bite, talk in a very different strain; but, the fashion with the cool and fat friends of the system is, to attribute the present calamities of the country to a sort of *natural decline*; so that *they* would be looked upon as *not doing the country any harm* by living in laziness upon the fruits of the labour of others. It is not *they*, who have hurt the country. The country is in a *fever*; terribly convulsed; every symptom of approaching weakness, if not of dissolution. But, it is no fault of these good people! Their being continually sucking its blood and gnawing its flesh does it no harm. Its ailment is a natural decline: in short, it is *old age*, which, sooner or later, brings every thing in the world to an end!

I am not aware of any notion that man can adopt more *base*, or more *mischiefous* than this; and yet it is "*all the fashion*." We do, indeed, see, that all animals and vegetables, rise, decline, and fall: that is to say, all the *individuals* of the several species of animals and vegetables. But, the species themselves never decline and fall without great mismanagement, or, some extraordinary convulsion in nature. We see that the race of men in England increases rather than otherwise. Why, then, should the *country* (by which are meant the nation and its power and resources) decline with the *number of its years*?

It is a base thought, and one which none but a base mind can endure, that our country, the spot where we first drew

breath, where our tonges were first heard, where our little feet and hands first felt their power, where we first thought, where love first warmed our hearts, where our parents lie buried, and from the name and fame of which, be they good or be they evil, we never can detach ourselves; it is a mark of inherent baseness *to be able to entertain the thought*, that our country, that all which is embraced by that name, is upon the *decline*, and is doomed to *perish*! Where, except among knavish priests and public plunderers, is the man, who could endure the thought (much less state the fact coolly) that his *own reputation* is on the decline and will be wholly gone in a few years? And yet, if a man were to *endeavour* to get rid of his connection with his country, the folly of such attempt is equal to its baseness. The thing is impossible, when the country, like ours, is of great and mighty consequence in the world. The native of an obscure Canton, or of some petty principality, known to the world only through the means of map-makers, and the rulers of which are about upon a level with their Majesties of Clubs and of Spades; the native of such an insignificant spot may pass through life without any anxiety about *country*. That which is not known to the world can lose no reputation. But, the native of a country so renowned as England; of a country so famous for all that most strongly attracts the admiration of men; of a country whose genius and power have, for ages, been such as to make her views and intentions an object of solicitude with every nation, and with every enlightened individual, in the world; of a country famed for her laws, famed in arts and in arms, famed for the struggles which, age after age, her sons have held with tyranny in every form it has assumed, and, beyond even all these, famed for having given birth to and reared up to manhood those

men of matchless wisdom and virtue, who, by carrying her unadulterated principles across the Atlantic, have there turned, as it were by magic, a trackless wilderness into a civilized, flourishing Empire, equal in population to England herself, and fast becoming her rival in every thing of which nations are proud: the native of such a country cannot *sneak* if he would. His very name of *Englishman* is a challenge to criticism. People will not stop to hear what *party* he is of. Being an Englishman is enough; and, if his country sink in reputation, he, in some degree, sinks too, in spite of all the salvos that he may endeavour to invent.

Therefore, besides the excessive baseness of talking coolly about the *natural decline* of the country, the folly is extreme in any man who has any sense of shame, or who has one spark of courage left in his bosom.

But, the *mischiefousness* of this doctrine is fully equal to its baseness. It is the doctrine of *predestination* applied to nations, and applied in its worst sense too. Only make up your mind to being damned, and, of course, you may do what you like in the way of robbery and murder, if you can contrive to set the gallows at defiance. And, only make up your mind, that you *are* to be a slave, and that your country *is* to become a den for slaves and poltroons; only make up your mind to this, and you will, neither in word or deed, attempt to oppose tyranny from within or conquest from without. The end of this degrading doctrine is to make men indifferent about the acts of the government: and, truly, if the country *be* to perish; if it be approaching towards a *natural* and *inevitable* termination of all its greatness and fame; if this be the case, it is not worth men's while to trouble themselves about what is done to the country, all that they have to do being to take as good care as they can of

themselves; and, by no means to run any unnecessary risks. Nay, seeing that the thing *is* to be broken up, there cannot be much harm in taking part in the pillage, as sailors do in the contents of chests on board a ship which is just going to pieces.

It is with a view of justifying this last-mentioned species of conduct that many persons resort to the doctrine of *natural decline*; as if they were to say: "it is 'no matter; if we do not suck out the 'blood of the Country, others will; 'seeing that it *is* to perish at such a 'time.' I trust, however, that the day is not distant, when *the people* will convince these leeches, that the country is not *doomed* thus to perish; but, that it has enough of its ancient spirit left not only to rescue it from its present state of degradation, but to do *complete justice* to all its enemies, internal as well as external.

Wm. COBBETT.

INSURRECTIONS

In France and England.

It is curious to observe the exact pace, which is kept by the two Governments, that of the Bourbons and ours, in putting down insurrections in their respective countries. A few days ago, we were told the troops at *Ely* had seized the arms of the people, and, amongst the rest a great number of *fowling pieces*. To-day we are told, in the following words, of what is doing, and has been done at *Grenoble*.

An article from *Grenoble* of the 8th of June, says, "the situation of this department continues to be altogether satisfactory. The *disarming* is every where finished without any difficulty. The warlike arms have been taken out of the hands of the *inhabitants* of *Grenoble*, and the return of the *fowling pieces*

" commenced yesterday, according to the "orders of the Mayor."

The Readers of the Register have seen enough of the employment of Troops as custom-house officers in Ireland; and now we are told, that the Duke of Wellington has agreed to employ the *allied troops* in the same way in *France*, upon condition of their receiving a per-centge on the amount of goods that they may seize! Thus will profit and glory be made to unite in a manner never before thought of.

The *executions* at *Grenoble* have taken place sometime ago. The Bourbons are more *rapid* in their movements in matters of this sort than our goverment is. But they * * * * *

To return to the march of Justice in England. I will insert the charge, which, it appears, the Judge, *ABBOT*, gave to the Grand Jury upon opening the Special Commission at *Ely*. But, before you come to the Judge's Charge, for God's sake read the *introduction*, and note the words, which you there find in *italicks* and *CAPITALS*. Look at those words! Look at them! But, it is impertinent thus to tease you. I will reserve my comments to follow the charge.

"This day, at ten o'clock, the Hon.
"Mr. Justice ABBOTT, Mr. Justice BUR-
"ROUGH, and EDWARD CHRISTIAN, Esq.
"Chief Justice of the Isle of Ely, arrived
"in this town, preceded by a *cavalcade*
"consisting of the *principal inhabitants*,
"and immediately repaired to the Court
"house, where they opened a Special
"Commission for the trial of the persons
"charged with having riotously assembled,
"and committed various felonies at Little-
"port and Ely. The Commission having
"been read, the Judges proceeded to the
"Cathedral, where divine service was

" performed, and a sermon preached by
" THE REV. SIR H. B. DUDLEY.

" the Court reassembled at one o'clock,
" and the preliminary business being
" concluded and the Grand Jury sworn,
" Mr. Justice ABBOTT addressed them to
" the following effect:

" Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

" You have been called together at
" this unusual period, and with the pre-
" sent solemnities, in consequence of
" some very daring acts of outrage com-
" mitted by various misguided individuals
" in this town and its neighbourhood,
" which must be still fresh in your re-
" collection. In contemplating the na-
" ture of these atrocities, it is impos-
" sible to consider without commenda-
" tion the conductors of those prompt and
" efficacious measures by which, after it
" had domineered for several days to-
" gether, the spirit of tumult and devas-
" tation was finally subdued. The na-
" tural progress of triumphant insurrec-
" tion is to increase in fury, and to grow
" larger in its demands, until from rob-
" bery it proceeds to the burning of
" houses and the murder of their inhabi-
" tants. Although no offences of this last
" and highest kind will be laid before
" you, yet it appears by the depositions
" that some crimes of a very deep die
" have been committed. Of some of
" these, considering the situation of their
" perpetrators, it may be difficult to
" penetrate the motive; and it may be,
" as often happens in such cases, that it
" was hardly known to the offenders them-
" selves. The pretence for these lawless
" disturbances seems to have been the
" necessity of an advance in the wages of
" husbandry; but the circumstances of
" some among the offenders do not cor-
" respond with the supposition of such
" an object. It had happened, that the

" hardships necessarily incident to a state
" of poverty, were aggravated by the
" peculiarity of the seasons, and the tem-
" per of mind which was thus produced
" appears to have been inflamed by de-
" signing persons into a settled hostility
" against the higher orders of society.—
" This spirit soon manifested itself in the
" destruction of property, as if labour
" could be encouraged, and wages raised,
" by the ruin of those who are to employ
" the one and to pay the other. In no
" country in the world are there so many
" institutions for the humane purpose of
" administering to the wants and necessi-
" ties of the poor—in no country does
" both public and private bounty flow in so
" many streams for the comfort and re-
" lief of the distressed classes of the com-
" munity. It is to be observed, too, that
" the money which was taken from indi-
" viduals on this melancholy occasion was
" not applied to the support of the families
" of the offenders, but was consumed in
" riot and intoxication, by which the
" blood was heated, the understanding
" confused, and the spirit inflamed to acts
" of further and more violent aggression
" against the persons and property of
" their neighbours. The number of per-
" sons engaged in the commission of these
" offences is so considerable that it has
" been deemed necessary thus suddenly
" to call you together, in order that the
" innocent may be restored to liberty
" without delay, the guilty brought to
" punishment, and the peaceable inhabitant
" convinced that the laws are effectual
" for his protection and his vindication.
" It is the first time that such a proceed-
" ing has been deemed necessary in this
" place, and I sincerely hope it may be
" the last. I am not aware that the task
" which you are now called upon to
" execute, however painful, will be at-
" tended with any extraordinary difficul-
" ties. Judging from the depositions

" which lie before me, the capital felonies
 " which will be presented to you resolve
 " themselves into the three different crimes
 " of burglary, robbery from the person,
 " and stealing in a dwelling-house. It
 " is fit, however, that I should here make
 " one observation, which is, that there
 " are many offences committed by large
 " assemblies of men, in which the guilt
 " is not confined to the individual whose
 " hand executes the felonious act. All
 " those who are present at its commission,
 " who favour it with their approbation
 " and concurrence, or who aid and en-
 " courage by their voice or action, are
 " involved in the same legal culpability.
 " This is a principle dictated by reason,
 " and established in law; for without the
 " presence of others the actual perpetra-
 " tor might not have been able to accom-
 " plish the criminal purpose, or might
 " have been deterred from attempting it
 " by the exertions of the well-disposed.
 " With regard to the particular crime of
 " burglary, it may be proper for me to
 " remark, that it consists in the breaking
 " of a house at night with intent to com-
 " mit some felony. What the nature of
 " this felony may be is not material, nor
 " is it necessary, in order to constitute
 " burglary, that the felonious intention
 " should have been carried into effect.
 " The circumstances under which the
 " breaking at night has been effected,
 " must form the evidence of the intent
 " with which it was done. All who then
 " enter are equally guilty; and the same
 " rule applies to those also who keep
 " watch whilst others enter. Even if the
 " entry should be made in consequence
 " of the door being opened by the owner
 " himself under the influence of artifice
 " or threats, it is in contemplation of law
 " a burglary; for the law will not suffer
 " its wholesome restraints to be evaded
 " by the shifts and contrivances of a
 " felon. Under the subject of robbery

" from the person, it may be important
 " for you to inquire, whether the money
 " raised by a riotous assembly is to be
 " considered, in the cases to which your
 " attention will be drawn, as a voluntary
 " contribution of the individuals from
 " whom it was taken, or as extorted by
 " violence, or under reasonable fear.
 " In the consideration, however, of what
 " amounts to this offence, it is not neces-
 " sary to advert either to the time or the
 " place of its commission. To steal in a
 " dwelling-house has been made a capital
 " felony by many statutes, but it is neces-
 " sary that the larceny should be actually
 " committed. Without troubling you,
 " however, by reciting a series of legisla-
 " tive enactments on this subject, I should
 " advise you generally to return the bills
 " as they are presented to you, and leave
 " any difficulty of legal construction to
 " that more accurate investigation which it
 " will afterwards receive in this place. On
 " the nature of ordinary riots and breach
 " of the public peace, you can require
 " no instruction from me: but on every
 " occasion, as well as the present, the
 " Court will be happy to afford you all
 " the assistance in its power. With re-
 " gard to the description of proof which
 " will be laid before you, there is little
 " to be remarked, further than that there
 " is reason to believe it will in most cases
 " be satisfactory—the evidence of eye-
 " witnesses upon acts done in open day
 " and without any disguise, in some in-
 " stances by neighbour upon neighbour,
 " so bold and daring was the violation of
 " the public peace. If the evidence of
 " accomplices in these transactions should

" be offered to you, you will receive it
 " with caution, and give credit to it only
 " when confirmed or supported by more
 " unexceptionable testimony. I cannot
 " conclude this address without exhorting
 " you to proceed with a calm and tem-
 " perate, but with a firm and manly de-
 " termination—on the one hand, not to
 " conclude, from your indignation at guilt,
 " too hastily, against the prisoners; and
 " on the other, that the serious nature of
 " the charges shall not deter you from pre-
 " senting them to the justice of your coun-
 " try. It is of the highest importance to the
 " peace and safety, not only of this isle,
 " but of the surrounding country, that
 " all who are present on this solemn en-
 "quiry, and all who read the account of
 " its proceedings (and there are few parts
 " of the kingdom in which it will not be
 " read) may be convinced by the awful
 " lesson which may here be taught, that
 " whatever wild or chimerical notions may
 " prevail of the power of an armed multi-
 " tude, the law is too strong for its assail-
 " ants; and that, however triumphant
 " or destructive their sway for a few
 " days, those who defy the law will ulti-
 " mately be compelled to submit either
 " to its justice or its mercy.'

" The grand jury then retired, and the
 " Court adjourned till to-morrow morn-
 " ing at nine o'clock."

" The calendar consists of eighty-two per-
 " sons, nine only of whom are out on bail;
 " all the rest are in prison. Their trials are
 " not expected to last beyond Thursday."

Now, * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * .
 Thus you know the truth of what is

going on, though it is hidden from nearly
 all the people of England.

We shall soon hear what the end of
 these proceedings is, and, I dare say,
 that the Cossacks of America will rejoice
 at the event. I should not much wonder
 if they were to think the matter worthy
 of being celebrated by processions and
 thanksgivings.

In spite, however, of the awful example,
 about to be made at Ely, and the pains
 which the London "*Loyal*" press has
 taken to circulate the *Judge's charge* all
 over the country, in a *verbatim* form, the
 very next day's post after it was delivered;
 in spite of such zealous efforts, efforts,
 indeed, which appear almost *superna-*
tural; for, how was the Loyal publisher
 in London to get, word for word, on
Tuesday morning, very early, a *Judge's*
 charge, delivered at Ely, on the Monday,
 at earliest, after the Reverend Sir Henry
 Bate Dudley Baronet's Sermon on that
 day? Ely is 67 miles from London.
 The charge (*word for word*, mind!) must
 have been sent off on the *Monday Evening*.
 The Judges arrived at 10 o'clock,
 preceded by "*a cavalcade*" of which I
 have given you a *true* account, and a very
 pretty *cavalcade* it was, was it not? I
 dare say, that it was very much admired
 by the ladies. Well! The "*cavalcade*,"
 be it what it might, proceeded first to the
 Court House, where the "*Special Com-*
mmission" was opened. Well! Then the
 Judges (and the "*cavalcade*," I suppose)
 went to the Cathedral. It must, surely,
 have been *noon* by this time. Then
 "*Divine Service* was performed," and a

Sermon was preached by the Rev. Sir Bate. *Expeditious* as Sir Bate might be (and he is, indeed, though aged, a most active as well as valorous member of the true Church Militant) the "Divine Service" of a Cathedral, and that, too, upon so solemn an occasion, could not well be performed, together with the sermon, in less than *three hours*. Then there was re-opening of the court; the swearing in of the Grand Jury; and the delivery of the charge. All this must have brought on six or seven o'clock. How expeditious; how quick and how able, must the *reporter* of the charge have been! *Word for word!* What an able set of people follow these judges upon this great occasion! There can be not the smallest doubt, that the charge, &c. * * * * *

However, be this as it may, the pains that are taken to *scour* through the country *this charge* shews that no little importance is attached to it. But, as I was going on to observe, in spite of the *bold language* that is used by the hired writers of the day, we see, all over the country, that the people of property are endeavouring, by *conciliation*, to keep the people quiet. I will here give two instances. *Liecester* and *Liverpool*.

LIECESTER.—"A Meeting of gentlemen connected with the hosiery business, took place last evening, at the Exchange, for the purpose (as we understand) of ascertaining the number of persons out of employ in this town and its vicinity, and of considering the best means to be adopted for alleviating

"their present distresses. A similar Meeting took place at Hinckley, a few days ago, when the *more opulent* part of the inhabitants agreed to *lend* a certain sum of money for the purpose of buying materials, &c. to be worked up by each person out of employ, limiting the quantity of work to the number of each individual's family; a Committee was appointed to take the management, and to dispose of the goods when manufactured, which, we understand, it was agreed should not be sold under prime cost. The Parish guarantee the Subscribers against all loss, and also the payment of interest upon the sums advanced."

I leave you to guess of the state of a country, where schemes like this are resorted to in order to keep the peace and to prevent the universal destruction of property. Do even your Cossacks suppose, that this state of things can *last long*? Not, at any rate, without the assistance of their prayers and thanksgivings and processions? Do they think, that the people who have been fed in this manner for *a month*, will not want to be fed in the same manner for *two months*? And, where, do they think, that this is to end?

LIVERPOOL.—"Our accounts from Liverpool this morning state, that the town has, during the last week, been thrown into a state of confusion and alarm by a hand-bill having been displayed against the walls, signed by some 30 or 40 individuals, announcing a determination on their parts to take

" " no silver coinage except Bank tokens
" and the genuine coin of the Mint."

" The Liverpool Paper of Monday
" says— ' What recompense can these
" people offer to the numberless poor
" creatures, who with their helpless babes
" traversed the streets on Thursday even-
" ing, crying in vain for that bread which
" the silver, earned by their honest in-
" dustry, could not purchase!!! Too
" much praise cannot be given to our
" worthy Mayor for the timely check
" put to these illegal proceedings. The
" Mayor's Address is as follows:—

" Town-hall, Liverpool, 14th June, 1816.

" A hand bill having been published, signed by
" a considerable number of tradesmen, in which
" it is stated, that ' Government had declared
" their intention not to take the sheet and bases
" shillings and sixpences now in circulation, in
" exchange for the new coinage,' the Mayor
" thinks proper to acquaint the public, that he
" deemed it his duty to request the attendance
" at the Town-hall, of the individuals who signed
" such hand-bill. The documents produced at
" the Meeting, and the result of the conversation
" which then passed, fully warrant the Mayor in
" declaring, that the statement contained in the
" hand-bill appears to have been expressed in
" too general terms, and not to have been suf-
" ficiently explanatory of the meaning of the
" parties, and that all shillings and sixpences, of
" Mint coinage, may safely be received in pay-
" ment, notwithstanding the impression thereon
" may have been worn out.

" WM. BARTON, Mayor."

" Notwithstanding the above address,
" confidence is far from being restored,
" and many individuals still persist in re-
" fusing all silver unless it bears the mark
" of a head upon it. Unless some further

" steps are taken, we fear it will be yet at-
" tended with the most ruinous conse-
" quences to trade in general."

Thus, you see, the Bee-hive is all in a
stir! The peace has brought no peace to
England; and, as every wise man must
see, no real peace can we have until this
terrible load of taxes be reduced. A
singular, and very mysterious affair has
just happened in the neighbourhood of
London. Several days ago, perhaps
twelve, a *review of the troops was*, in the
public papers said to be about to take
place on a spot called Wimbledon Com-
mon, about five miles from London.
Spectators assembled; but there was *no*
review. It is added, that a *heath*, at a
little distance, was, by *some accident*, set
on fire, and that " *it was feared that this*
" *might provoke the mob to set the wood*
" *on fire*; but the *seasonable* arrival of
" the GUARDS restored tranquillity." This *wood* is a country seat of Liverpool's.
Thus, you see, these *Guards* are things by
no means kept for mere *shew*. They are
things of real utility.

Nevertheless, whenever *the people* have
a fair opportunity of speaking their mind,
they do it, and that, too, in a manner,
which shews, that Mr. Jefferson is per-
fectly right as to the feelings which ani-
mate the people of Europe. Of the man-
ner in which the people of England yet
dare speak their minds, I will, in my next,
give you a specimen, in a relation of the
late proceedings in the County of Kent on
a proposition to address the Royal Family
on account of the late marriage.

Wm. COBBETT.

DEBATE ON THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY.

(Continued from p. 768.)

Mr. W. SMITH rose to second the motion, and though great accuracy of detail had been brought forward by the Hon. Mover, yet this was not necessary on his view of the question. He did not attach any blame to his Majesty's ministers: the difficulties in which they had been placed were an excuse for many errors; but he recollects that he had seconded the repeal of the income-tax, not because he thought the money was not wanted, but because the measure itself was so unconstitutional that he thought it incumbent on parliament to redeem the pledge that had been given by the minister, and repeal the tax. It might be said, that his Hon. Friend had erred in some trifling particulars; but with that he had nothing to do—those sums were so small that they made no impression on the total deficit. Under any view of the question there was a deficit of 10,000,000*l.* and unless some very unexpected explanation were given, the gloomy conclusion to which his Hon. Friend came, would not be got rid of. He thought that, after all, if difficulties were looked in the face, it could not be disguised that sooner or later some reduction must be made in the dividends; and though some gentlemen had looked to such a measure with the most fearful and gloomy apprehensions of the consequences, he did not think that the effect would be so dangerous as was imagined.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER found it impossible to concur in the view which the Hon. and Learned Gentleman (Mr. Grant) had taken in the resolutions he had proposed: they seemed to him only to add one link to that long chain of sinister prognostications with which the House was admonished towards the close

of every session. In spite of all those prognostications we had hitherto triumphed over our difficulties, and he trusted that the present alarms would prove as groundless as the former. He had never disguised from himself the difficulties of our situation, but, compared with those which had been surmounted, they were not very alarming: we had long been contending for existence, and were now contending for a relief from our burdens; but he believed that the country would never be reduced to that extreme remedy which the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last had endeavoured to break to it. He was convinced the House would never listen to so unjust a proposal, under which the country would lose more by the wreck of credit and character than it could ever gain from such a breach of faith. The expenses of the present year had been met in a way that gave satisfaction, but the Hon. Mover had assumed that the expenses of future years would be equal to the present. Neither the Hon. Gentleman nor himself could say what would be the circumstances of a future year; but if the peace continued, a considerable reduction might be expected. It had been objected on former occasions that the expenses of the navy were too small as compared with those of the army, but it amounted to nearly as much for the present year, and he would ask whether a navy estimate of 10,000,000*l.* was likely to be approved of as a regular peace establishment? He had stated that there was a diminution of debt this year, and only 14,000,000*l.* had been borrowed for the whole United Kingdom. The sum repaid this year would exceed the sum borrowed by three millions. In future years he hoped for a greater increase of our income over the expenditure required for the public service. This was a consoling prospect after the war, and a state of things which had occurred

in the first year after the conclusion of no former peace. At the end of the American war our debt had increased for some years; and it was not till 1786, when Mr. Pitt established the sinking fund, that the income of the year could balance the payment of the interest of the national debt, and defray the charges of our establishments. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman, not satisfied with this state of things, required a pledge from ministers of economy, and the disclosure of plans for preventing the ruin he apprehended; but he gave very little reason for making such a pledge, by declaring that no pledge could either be properly given or confidently relied on. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would give no pledge, because ministers felt the obligation which their public duty had pressed so strongly, that no pledge could add to its force, or afford it national security for its fulfilment. It would be very imprudent to give any other pledge than an assurance, that whatever should appear most conducive to the public welfare, would be supported and carried into effect with all their zeal and ability. They would bind themselves to no particular course of conduct. The Hon. and learned Gentleman had allowed an increase of revenue to the amount of 500,000*l.* on comparing the produce of the taxes this year with their produce in a former year; but against this he stated the amount of the new taxes at 900,000*l.* and the increase of the property tax to the extent of 200,000*l.* making in all 1,100,000*l.* which, if deducted from the increased revenue of this year, instead of making it appear greater than the last, would show a falling off of 600,000*l.* He had, however, stated on a former occasion, that if new duties were imposed, others had fallen in and expired. It would be found that war duties of customs and excise to the amount of 870,000*l.* had been thus lost to the revenue, which

would do more than cover the excess of 600,000*l.* mentioned as a falling off. He would venture to affirm, that down to April last, so far from there being any decrease, there had been an augmentation. He could not say what would be the state of the country in future, though there was a probability that there might next year be a falling off in some branches of the revenue, from the distresses of the country, and some causes in operation, as failures in business, the results of which would not be seen till another year. On this prospective view he could venture to give no distinct or decided opinion—far less would he wish to pledge the opinion of parliament by entertaining the present resolutions. The Honourable and learned Gentleman showed something like injustice in wishing to bind ministers to economy and to a reduction of debt, while he took away their resources for meeting demands for the service of the country. The Hon. and learned Gentleman should rely on the wisdom of parliament, and the firmness with which the country would support what was necessary to carry it through its difficulties; but he would not pledge the legislature to any particular course, and would therefore feel it consistent with his duty to move the previous question on the resolutions that had been read.

Mr. PONSONBY thought the House was obliged to the Hon. and learned Mover for the accurate and able statements of our financial situation which he had laid before it. Their accuracy was proved by the silent acquiescence of the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, who had disputed none of the accounts. He only disputed the conclusions which had been drawn from them; and those conclusions he (Mr. P.) was afraid would be found as incontrovertible as the figures on which they were founded. It was a fact that could not be denied, that we could not

meet the expenditure of next year without a great deficiency of ways and means. Whether that deficiency amounted to eighteen millions, or only thirteen, or only ten, was a matter of little consequence, since any of these sums would be allowed to be enormous and alarming. For this evil the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, had a remedy. That remedy he did not explain, but as he had detected the remedy of his Hon. Friend (Mr. W. Smith), so he (Mr. P.) could, he thought, divine his. The remedy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was the property-tax. He had charged his Hon. Friend (Mr. Smith) with despondency, but he would rather have the despondency of his Hon. Friend than the joy of the Right Hon. Gentleman. [A laugh.] He never despaired of the state of the country; but as our wealth constituted one of the chief elements of our power and grandeur, if we wished to maintain our position among the nations, we should husband our resources, and practise economy. He thought his Hon. and learned Friend's resolutions should be carried, or that he should take the sense of the House upon them.

Mr. TIERNEY expressed his satisfaction at the able and accurate statement pre-

sented in the speech of his Hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Grant), and he congratulated the country and the house on the talents and information he had displayed. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tierney) entered into various statements to support the calculations that he had formerly made, and those this night brought forward. He would recommend a committee next session to take into consideration the financial situation of the country. At present we knew nothing but what the Chancellor of the Exchequer chose to communicate. At the end of the American war, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, we were in a worse situation with regard to finance than at the end of this; but it should be recollect that at that time we had Mr. Pitt for finance minister, and now we had the Right Hon. Gentleman. [A laugh.]

Mr. COURtenay denied the revenue had fallen off, if we took a retrospect of four years instead of one.

Mr. TIERNEY explained.

Mr. GRANT shortly replied.

The question was then put successively on Mr. Grant's resolutions, which were negatived without a division by the previous question.